/124 cont./

291 The upper garment (ipotsatc) is a simple, rectangular piece of cloth about 160 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide, which, when being put on, is held crosswise so that the warp and ornamental threads run crosswise. When it is on, it covers only the bosom, back, and one side, whereas the other one remains more or less free (Ills. 166 /see p. 273/ and 178 /see p.279 /). In use it is put on from one side of the body over the bosom to the other side, and then led across the back to the original side again. The back /125/ part is now pulled up and fastened over both shoulders to the bosom part with a thorn (tópo) or a safety pin. The part that hangs down is tucked into the skirt. In general the women try to buy colored, usually red blouses in the market for festival days, and these then replace the old, simple cloth. The skirts, however, are not exchanged for other clothing, because the purchased fabrics are not nearly as durable and also do not have the necessary width.

Outside the house the women usually wear a shawl over the ipotsatc; they either weave one (senyatc) for themselves or [854] purchase it (panyelõn). In any case it is necessary for carrying babies, for they are wrapped in it and secured with the colored belt (táw) (Ills. 152 /see p. 267 /, 166 /see p. 273 /, 178 /see p. 279/, 183 /see p. 282 /).

292 There is no special, original ceremonial dress or any spe-
[293] cial clothing for dignitaries. The latter carry, as their only
[177] distinguishing mark, the chonta staff introduced to them by the Spaniards. For festivals and ceremonies people try to wear either items of European clothing or a new outfit of the customary gar-
[764] ments. For a Christian burial it is the duty of the members of
[177] the family to bury the deceased in the clothing of white Colombians.
291 Small children usually run around naked or have a scrap of cloth hung over them in the style of the ruana. Larger boys wear either a large ruana reaching to the upper thighs, which is held together by a belt, or they already wear trousers. Smaller girls are usually dressed in a piece of cloth reaching from the upper body down over the knees, which is drawn over one shoulder. Older girls wear the clothing of the women. No distinction is

/195 cont./

d) Death

761 According to the belief of the Paez, death occurs chiefly
776 through the action of the evil shamans (nyic) or the evil spirits
165 ec̀, tus̃, and gẽlyómp (see "Religion" /see pp. 191ff./). Included
164 here also is the not infrequent cause of death through consumption.
[262] Causes of death of children are chiefly whooping cough, as well
as stomach and intestinal disorders, the latter brought about by a
[762] diet very unsuitable for children. Suicide is completely unknown.

764 The death of a member of the community is passed on from
[763] man to man by members of the family and neighbors. There is
[203] no public mourning or lamentation; upon the death of small
[765] children, people act as though they were glad, since the children
[192] are now "little angels." (Among the colonists, as well as among the Paez, the Spanish word "angelito" is used.) In former times it was customary to abandon the house when death occurred and to leave the deceased and some food in it (Castillo i Orosco, p. IX).

764 The manner of burial is the same for men, women, and
184 children; there are no social differences. A few customs in other Paez communities, however, differ from those of the Calderun. Therefore the burial of the dead in Calderas will be described first.

[177] For burial the deceased is dressed if possible in purchased,
[291] that is, "white" clothing, even if he was the poorest of the poor and had never worn such clothing. For this reason the relatives incur considerable expense, which often cannot be paid for a long time. Burial takes place the day after death. Only the feet of the deceased are washed. This work, as well as dressing the deceased, may be done by relatives or even by outsiders; they must, /196/ however, always be men, even in the case of female deceased persons. The body is taken by two men on a bier made of two tree trunks to the graveyard next to the church, where two other men, usually relatives, have already dug the grave. The latter is trapezoid-shaped, a good shoulder's breadth at head height and narrower at the foot end. Its length is determined by the size of the deceased. The direction of the grave is completely arbitrary.

/196 cont./

764 184 It is dug out about 1.50 meters and at the bottom provided with a lateral longitudinal niche about 40 centimeters high. This niche is generally hollowed out on the left side, but sometimes on the right. The body is laid in this, without the bier and without accessories, horizontally on its back, so that it no longer extends into the shaft of the grave. The shaft and the niche are, in addition, separated by vertical stakes and rods placed side by side so that the deceased cannot be touched by the earth filling the grave. On the latter, a stone about one meter high is placed at the head or foot end for identification.

[793] [756] The priest is not present at a burial, nor is the shaman who acts for the district of the deceased. The latter also does not enter a house in which there is a dead person. The participants in the funeral procession, men, women, and children, go to the graveyard together and then back again to the house of the deceased, where lavish entertainment with food, chicha, and brandy now follows. The latter was also drunk copiously on the way to and from the burial place. The mood during the entire time is 756 jolly and animated; people laugh and make jokes. Before the 764 participants enter the house upon their return from the burial, 783 they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them, in order 184 to "cleanse" them of the "pest" of the deceased for the first time (see "Religion"). Then they go together to the house of the deceased, which they may not enter, however, until the shaman has also cleansed this with the same remedies with which he freed the human beings of the "pest." These are water, to which special herbs and cow excrement are added, sprinkled everywhere, as well as brandy, which, mixed with herbs, the shaman squirts everywhere.

764 184 In Togoima we were able to take part in the burial of two small children (angelitos). The graves of the cemetery in this town all have an east-west direction. The niche is always at the left, the body lies on its back with the head toward the west. The size of the grave required is measured with a bamboo stick that is as long as the deceased. Before the burial, there is drinking, [273] [535] music, and dancing in the house. /197/ Music is also played at [533] the burial and on the graveyard.

P /197 cont./

184 In this respect Calderas differs from all the other Indio or
764 colonist towns known to me, for there neither music nor dancing
533 is done on the occasion of a death. Both are done at the death of
535 an "angelito," not only among the Paez living in the vicinity of
S colonists, but, above all, among the white and mixed-colored
764 colonists. Thus, on January 1, 1953, soon after our arrival in the
533 archeological park of San Andrés, two small girls of the neighbor-
535 hood came to us and asked if I would photograph the "little angel."
C At first I was annoyed, for a short time before a group of children
123 had come, carrying a doll on a flower-bedecked tray from house to house, and they presented it to us, too, as the child Jesus who was collecting contributions for the mass that was to take place on January 6. The girls told me, however, that this little angel was the deceased, two-months-old child of the colonists in the neighboring house, whose mother had already washed and adorned it beautifully. The house was 20 meters away from our own, and even from our door one could already hear jolly music from the neighboring house, such as we had already heard at Christmas and at the New Year's Eve celebration. In the house a large number of neighbors and relatives were gathered in the same room in
C which the child was laid out. People were laughing, drinking,
[534] singing, and dancing. The orchestra -- as always -- consisted of a guitar, a mandola, and rumba balls, and the usual musicians played in it. One of them was the father of the dead child, a second one, its uncle. Astonished at the bustle, I asked the mother whether she was not a little sad over the loss of her child. She admitted that she was, but at the same time said that her child was now a little angel and this was grounds for joy and dancing. I asked up to what age deceased children are called "little angels." I was told that if they are not yet two or three years old they "are" little angels and not merely called that. The small child, whom they always referred to only as the little angel, was laid out in the room on a table, flowers lay all around it, and at its
C head stood an image of the Virgin Mary with four candles in front
[273] of it. The people were not yet quite sober from New Year's Eve and already the inevitable liquor bottle was making the rounds again. On the next day the burial by the relatives took place.

1: Nachtigall--131 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15 ●
Columbia SC1

Sp /197 cont./
764 The child had been laid in a coffin which was painted on the out-
C side with stars. The female relatives had made a so-called "canopy,"
123 /198/ a pole two meters high, on the tip of which was fastened a white hoop decorated with flowers, from which hung eleven colored paper streamers, one of which was carried by each of the participants. I, too, was asked to take one, and then we set out -- without the mother of the deceased child -- with music, for the graveyard where the small coffin was opened once more and then lowered
P into the earth without formality.

764 Among the Paez of Togoima, too, there is drinking, dancing,
184 and singing at the death of a child, and here, too, the mother does
[273] not take part in the burial at the graveyard. The body is carried
[533] by a woman -- usually the godmother -- in a small sedan chair of
[535] bamboo, accompanied by the music of drum, timpano, and flute,
[608] to the burial place where several men have already scooped out a grave with the lateral niche (Ills. 204 and 207 /see pp. 290 and 291/). The deceased child has a few flowers in its mouth. It is wrapped in a cloth and is laid in a recumbent position, along with a bouquet of flowers, in the niche, which is separated from the shaft by the rods of the sedan chair placed vertically side by side. The earth thrown into the pit is stamped down very firmly with posts.

P In Calderas, too, the mother of a "little angel" to be buried
[608] does not go along to the graveyard. The small corpse is carried by the godmother, not in a sedan chair, but simply wrapped in a cloth, on her arm.

The burial of the Christian Indios of San Andrés shows transi-
P tions in the shape of the grave from the Paez niche-grave to the
[674] simple, rectangular pit of the other Christians. We took part in the burial of the capitan who had been stabbed by his drunken son during a quarrel. The direction of the grave in the cemetery of San Andrés is always east-west; the head lies on the west side with the ground sloping upward. Instead of a lateral niche, a trapezoidal hollow about 50 centimeters deep is dug at the bottom of the shaft, which is covered horizontally by bamboo put so closely together that no earth can fall down, and the corpse is practically just as well

/198 cont./

764 protected from the earth above it as if it were lying in a lateral
184 niche (Ill. 206 /see p. 291/). It was expressly confirmed to me
[178] that this form of grave has been used for only about 20 years, and that previously regular niche-graves had been made. The transitional character of this covered pit from the shaft grave with the lateral niche becomes even more apparent from the fact that an additional niche was dug about 30 centimeters deep at the head end of the pit, into which the capitan was laid part way, "so that at least the head is lying in a niche."

/199/ The corpse, wrapped in Colombian clothing, was carried on a bier on the shoulders of two men. The bier consists of two poles held by cross-sticks lashed crosswise one above the other at intervals of 30 centimeters. The cross-sticks are lashed with lianas in pairs, each one above the one longitudinal pole and below the other one (Ill. 205 /see p. 291/). After the burial, the bier was chopped up and then left lying in the graveyard.
[201] Shortly before the lowering of the corpse, the members of the
[516] family take leave of it by kneeling down and moving one or both hands before them from above downward and saying: "You are now going to heaven, and we shall not see each other again; we hope it may go well with you!"

After the corpse was lowered and its head pushed into the small niche, the bamboo covering was very carefully and tightly laid over it. Then the pieces of sod as the bottom layer were packed next to each other as closely as they had been when lying on the surface of the ground. The members of the family and the friends, with their left hands, then tossed as many handfuls of earth into the grave as the person concerned has family relatives. Together they fill the grave with all the rest of the earth with their hands. This is an honor for the friends of the deceased; if a person has no friends, the members of his family must do this work themselves. After a few handfuls of earth, the filling of the pit is always stamped down long and thoroughly with tree trunks. This is a very long and exhaustive occupation, and the more beloved the deceased was, the longer the stamping. In the case of the burial of the capitan, this lasted almost two hours. As a

/199 cont./

764 result of the very hard stamping of the earth, the burial place
184 does not stand out from the surrounding terrain either because of a regular grave mound or because of any kind of slight elevation. A stone 30-60 centimeters in size serves as a marker, which is set either at the head or the foot end of the grave.

769 Whereas the deceased is given no accessories at all in the
[764] grave to take with him and no offerings are given this is done in
[796] the following year on December 8, the festival of the Immaculada. On this day, and each year recurrently, the relatives offer the spirits (áhimos) of their deceased, whom they think of as wind or shadows living in their former houses, their favorite foods: meat, yuca, potatoes, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, etc. These gifts are laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church, and a candle is lighted and placed beside them. Small children do not get food, but flowers as gifts.

/200/

e) The Course of a Day

461 Men and women perform the tasks appropriate to them.
462 Those of the women are the least varied, since meals must be prepared daily and wood and water must be fetched regularly for cooking or for maintaining the nightly fire. Moreover, the work of the woman is more bound up with the house, whereas the men have shorter or longer pauses in their work and during these they visit neighbors, help them mill sugar cane, and drink chicha.
461 Steadiness is not the strong point of the Paez to begin with. It is but seldom that tasks are completed in an uninterrupted process; rather, we almost always found that on the following day the men were busy with something different from the previous day. To be sure, field work always requires long pauses between the clearing, the drying of the felled trees, burning, erecting the fences out of the remaining wood, and sowing. But even within each of these stages of work they generally take their time. True, there are said to be persons who can work for several weeks, up to a month, uninterruptedly in the clearing of a field, but I found again and again that after two to four days of work, a day of rest is inserted.

/267 cont./

[756] like the entire culture of the Paez. For the rest, there are neither special articles of clothing or equipment nor any other kind of ceremonial gear, such as crystals, masks, or rattles.

[824] The shaman's staff consists of a smooth staff, 50 to 60 centimeters long, made out of the hard wood of the chonta palm. It is /268/ pointed at one end and semicircular in cross-section. Each shaman makes this staff for himself before treating his first [764] patient and never lets it out of his hand. When he dies, it is put into the grave with him. Before a séance begins, he sticks it into the ground, though not directly in front of him, but somewhat to the side. Only rarely does a shaman have it in his hand during the séance. As the single exception to the unadorned shaman's staff, I know of only the one belonging to old Felisa Ipia of Santa Rosa. On her staff she has tied a number of colored wool threads [774] which she spun herself and dyed with homemade dyes. She has collected in these threads the souls of all the villagers of Santa [755] Rosa. If someone in the village falls ill, she learns of it through [787] her signs or through Thunder personally and in this way is better able to help the sick person, since she can immediately blow her medicinal herbs, mixed with brandy, on the wool threads and thus can help the sick person better.

[756] [773] S. Bernal Villa points out that the designation for the shaman's staff corresponds to the name of the most important culture hero of the Paez, Juan Tama, who, according to tradition, was lawgiver, famous and victorious commander of the army, first chief [976] and shaman. According to other traditions, he was the son of the stars, the son of Thunder, or Thunder himself. The present-day shamans regard the staff as a gift from Thunder, and as a sign of spiritual alliance with him. A shaman of San Andrés, reporting on the origin of the shaman staff, says that, according to the stories of the elders, the tama was introduced by Thunder himself. According to this, a man once had his hut and his potato field in the mountains. He harvested the field with his son. One day the son refused to follow his father to the field, but rather preferred to stay behind in the hut. The next day the son had disappeared

/271 cont./

caused by the spirits eč̌, tũs, or gělyómp, or general emanations of impurity, of "pest" (uwẽ). Such reasons for catching pest, and thereby being afflicted with sickness, result largely from neglecting the prescribed shamanistic purifications. These must take place after a burial or when someone has merely seen a funeral procession or entered a house in which there is a corpse. The prohibitions surrounding a woman giving birth or menstruating are just as strict. If she does not retire to the menstruation hut at the proper time, if she cohabits during these days or neglects to take the subsequent bath after menstruation and birth, the consequences are equally grave. Pest befalls a man if he accepts food from a menstruating woman. The same consequences befall the one who in housebuilding or during the first harvest does not have the proper ceremonies performed by the shaman.

Most people die as the result of the evil influence of the nyiç, the evil sorcerers. The latter -- it is firmly believed -- are able to kill individual persons as well as to send pest to entire villages. Their power of evil is regarded as almost unlimited. Besides being bewitched by a nyiç, there are three other possibilities for a person to become ill or to die. These causes are gělyómp, tũs, and eč̌. All three are very complex conceptions and may be translated roughly as "mountain spirit," "rainbow," and "firefly," respectively, although the Paez conception and the translation are not completely identical. The teyu knows the cause of the illness immediately from his signs, the rest of the people, however, usually only after the death of the sick person. And, to be sure, one recognizes the tũs as the cause of illness by the fact /272/ that the corpse lies there with a bent limb (arm or leg), whereas in the case of eç as the cause of death, blood flows from the mouth or nose. It is also possible that both together, tũs and eč̌, might bring death to the person, for example, if the person lies there bent and blood flows from the mouth or nose.

The gělyómp spirit lives chiefly in the mountains, but also in the valley, on the banks of brooks or rivers. He likes to lead wanderers astray in the mountains by making noise and screaming up there; at night one hears his screams -- like those of a human

/276 cont./

769 foods: meat, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, yuca, etc. These gifts are laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church and a
775 candle is lighted along with it.) The áhimos, too, can only be seen by shamans.

774 She does not know when and from where a child gets its ũns and taff. She believes that as soon as the heart of the child beats in the mother's womb, the child has ũns; it gets taff only after birth. Animals have no taff; they have ũns only if they devour human beings.

e) Shamanistic Séances

756 Each of the shamanistic séances, be it a treatment of the sick
783 or a ceremony during housebuilding or at a burial, is basically a purification from "pest" and therefore a ceremony of magic practices. All these ceremonies and séances are thus in essence the same. They differ only in details, for example, in the different medicinal herbs or in the order of the various purifications. Let us first give a description of a purification ceremony /277/ by the shaman Martin Chucue after a burial (see Ill. 208 to 213 /see pp. 292-294/).

756 The shaman does not take part in the burial. Moreover, he
764 neither enters the house of a deceased in which the corpse is still
783 present, nor does he accompany a funeral procession to the burial place. The mourners, men, women, and children, go to the burial place together and then return to the house of mourning. Before they may enter it, however, they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them in order to purify them for the first time. Then they go together to the house of mourning, which, however, the purified people may not yet enter, since it is still unclean. The shaman, with his helpers, must first purify the house with the same remedies with which he purified the people, namely, with water to which herbs and cow excrement have been added. After that the people, too, may enter the house and eat and drink.

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Ill. 203. The flute maker Vicente Puche.

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Ill. 204. Burial of a child who died of whooping cough.

CIII

L: Nachtigall--290 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

1: Nachtigall--291 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 205. The capitan of San Andrés on the bier.

Ill. 206. Niche grave.

Ill. 207. Niche grave for a child.

1: Nachtigall--292 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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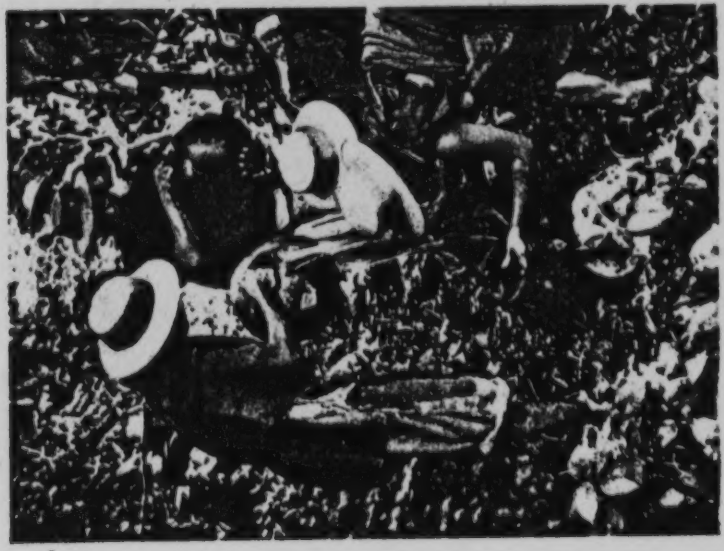

Ills. 208 and 209. Ritual purification after a burial.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

marriage bonds were not definitely made until experiment indicated the fecundity of the woman, and that the union was dissolved at the will of the husband if the wife proved to be barren. The same authority informs us that the wife had to give her husband the necessary clothing, while the husband provided food for the family.

A custom mentioned by Castillo was that during menses the women spent the time sitting in small huts expressly built for that purpose, for fear of contaminating the common dwelling and of bringing disease and death to its occupants.

Rodriguez relates another custom in connection with childbirth and death: ". . . y siempre que pare la mujer, ó que muere alguno de su familia, desamparan la casa, dexando en ella al difunto con cantidad de bastimento y de la chicha, brebage, que beben: y á las casas donde parió la mujer, las dejan con las inmundicias de el parto, y acabadas de nacer las criaturas, las laban, y se vañan sus madres, poniendose en viaje á buscar nuevo paraje para su habitacion, que siempre procuran sea en parte muy fragosa, por no ser visitados."

These details are confirmed by Castillo and were probably still observed in his time. As to what is done at present, and regarding the family organization in general, it is very difficult to obtain reliable information. The Indians are very jealous of their women, do not tolerate in them any intercourse with strangers, and become instantly distrustful when questioned about family matters.

With reference to death, Castillo differs from Rodriguez in that he states that a dying person was taken from the house, so that he did not actually die in it, and that the dwelling was destroyed by fire. He does not mention the custom of leaving food near the corpse, but states that the body was buried and a fence built around the grave.

Diseases

No diseases came under my observation during my stay at Huila and Tacueyó, and the Indians rather impressed me as being a healthy people. But if their vocabulary affords suffi-

/243 cont./

*755 He fills the grave[1] with earth and proceeds with the cleansing
756 of the members of the family. They return home. All the
783 workers come out, and again he cleanses all of them. Only then can they go inside. The women have all the food prepared with half of the pig, for the other half belongs to the curer. Chicha and aguardiente are drunk and then the food is served. When dawn breaks, the usual liquors are being consumed. The curer leaves and other people take charge of bringing him his provision. The curer receives it, gives thanks, and hangs it outside the house. He can eat it only when he has killed more glowworms.

With this the Ut ká is finished and the pest has been warded off from the family.

*756 Ut peu ("dirt"-wash). Immediately after the burial, and
● 764 on the bank of a river or a spring, the washing of the clothes
783 and the cleansing of the people are done. The curer prepares three calabashes of remedies made up of (1) water and cow dung, (2) with rue, bitopiskue, flundayuskei, dachak (curíbano /Scleria floribunda/), crushed, and (3) with shu and shulape.

/244/ With these, and in the order given, the people wash their clothes and their bodies. The clothes of the deceased are washed by the heirs.

The curer, after washing his own feet with the same remedies, remains seated, perceiving the signs. He then prepares another calabash of remedies with shú, shulape, and yuskei, for washing the hands of all those present.

He starts cleansing the people, who are seated on stones. The curer goes to the left and comes from there, beating with the tama. On reaching the first person to be cleansed, he performs the same acts already mentioned, doing the same with the others. He vomits the sucked-out "dirt" into a hole, where the people also cast their chew of coca, tobacco, and yuskei. Then the medicine man washes his hands with aguardiente and the remedy previously prepared. Everyone

1/ [i.e. the grave into which the dolls as representations of the souls, have been placed -- Analyst]

/244 cont./

takes two swallows: they blow one into the air and they drink the second one. What remains is sprinkled into the air. Those present are lined up in a row, and the curer again beats with the tama, first around the front part and then around the back part. He casts the collected dirt into the hole, covers it with a stone, and tamps down the earth. Now the people, clean of ptans, go to the house of the deceased.

Yat put (house-blown). After the ceremony of the Ut Peu, all the people go to the house of the deceased, which they do not enter until the blowing of the house has been done. Everyone who was in the house comes out. The curer prepares the same three calabashes of remedies which he used in the Ut Peu. He pours out the calabash of water-diluted cow-dung at the spot where the corpse lay, doing the same with the second one. With the third, that is to say, the one made up of shu and shulape, he sprinkles the entire house (patio, walls, rooms, roof). With this the people can go in and its occupants will continue to live. Dr. Hernández de Alba describes the cleansing as follows:

"A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and Friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, with /sic/ are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spites /sic/ leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the /245/ others /sic/ half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he bdows /sic/ chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean. The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk" /cited in English/ (8).

Fernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
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list presented by a council composed of former governors, the captain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but generally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

Property.—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property. Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adornments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained from Colonial times.

Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still litigations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
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881 heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

797 871 [868] **Education.**—Today the Indians are educated principally by their parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light [562] basketwork. The *Páez* are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of [177] their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

595 [77] 583 **Marriage.**[11]—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholicism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

584 The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páez*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the 583 godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and 585 can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all 527 such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother, [782] and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of [775] the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. 'Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

764 **Death.**—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

[1147] [727]

[11] I thank my wife and companion, Helena Ospina de Hernández, for her research in 1938 on matrimonial matters.

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The graves were "large and deep," and chiefs were buried with some of their wives and with food and chicha (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32).

In Colonial times, according to Del Castillo, the *Páez* removed a dying person from his hut but burned the house if anyone died in it. They had given up cremation, however, and buried in the earth, building a fence around the grave. Today, they cover the corpse with a white shroud and place it in the middle of the house with candles and flowers. Here it is watched over one night by relatives and friends, and then buried in a cemetery, where each relative tosses some earth into the grave saying, "Go with God." The mourners then bathe in the river without disrobing, and in the evening hold a banquet with chicha, sancocho (vegetable stew), meat, and tortillas. For 9 days a cross, a container of water, and a candle must be kept on the deceased's bed, the water being kept there so that the soul may drink. The relatives pray every night. A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, which are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spits leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the other half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he blows chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk.

The modern burial customs of the *Moguex* differ somewhat from those of the *Páez*. The former dance for 9 days before and after burying a dead child. Because of the special ceremonies for adults, young Indians gather and prepare wood to be burned at their own funerals. When an adult dies, relatives and friends bring wood, food, and money to the house, and work for his family, who pray and weep for 3 days over the body. On the fourth day, they carry the body in a procession to the cemetery. Upon passing a house or inn where the deceased was accustomed to take chicha, they stop and drink. The burial procedure is like that of the *Páez*. Back at the house, they purify the objects used by the deceased over the fire, and leave his clothes and the hide he used as a bed at the river 9 days, after which they may be used. Meanwhile, the guests remain with the deceased's family, helping them. On the 9th day, they extinguish all lights and go to the nearest hill to mourn, while a shaman remains in the house to catch the soul of the deceased. He chews coca, spits it in all directions, and beats around with sticks to make the soul come out. Then he lights

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the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved, but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

726 The *Páez* and *Moguex* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, [411] they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

628 The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Spanish soldiers. [648] The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone [632] statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs, "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the [764] tombs.

To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it 727 on the road.

266 Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguex*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars [175] against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the [648] *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them [764] over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later.

[114] As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes 727 (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the [314] heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.